Mahmud Ali

ROLE OF MUSLIM BENGAL IN THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN

Student Services

LAHORE

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MUSLIM BENGAL
IN THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN

MAHMUD ALI

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Dedicated

to

Our Youth



Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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ILLUSTRATIONS :

Preface

Known and unkown friends who either listened to or read my speeches on the occasion of 98th Birth Anniversary of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, either at the Town Hall, Lahore on the 1st of January 1975 under the auspices of Bazm-e Quaid-e-Azam and at the Seminar held at the Tea Room of the Punjab Assembly House, Lahore on the 3rd of January, 1975 have been pressing me hard to publish the speeches in the form of a book-let. In deference to their wishes I have decided to publish the speeches for whatever they are worth. I am also adding herein one discourse on Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul Haq and another on Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy.

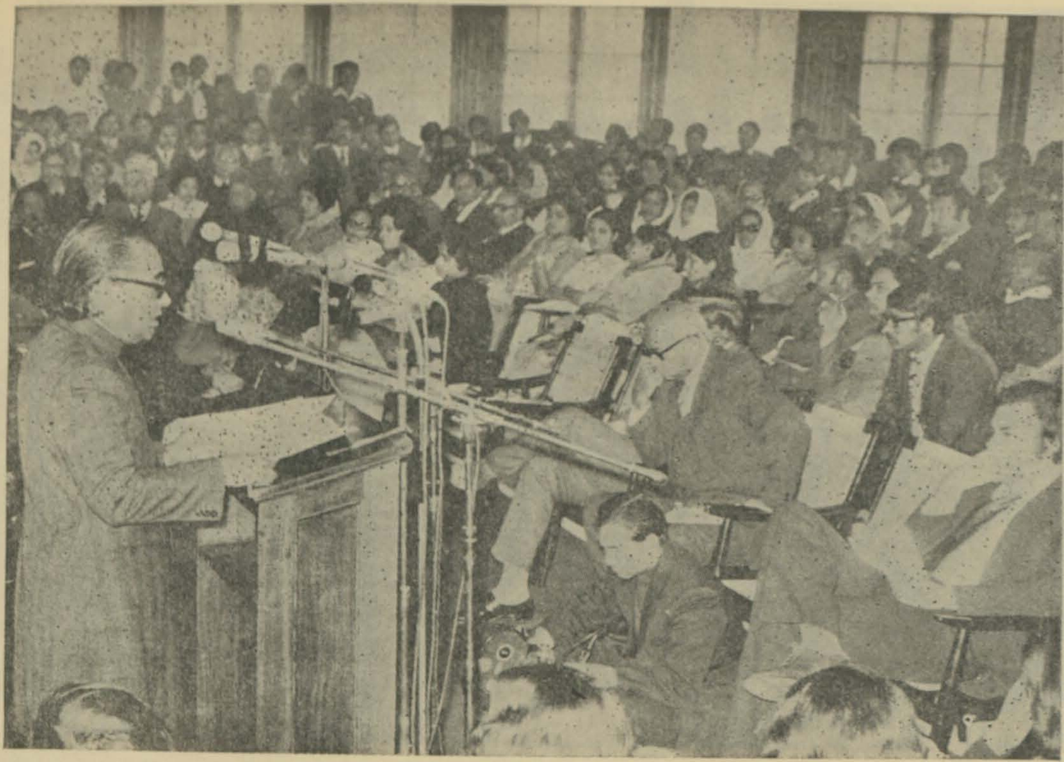
I am grateful to Messers Student Services, Lahore for undertaking the publication.

I acknowledge with gratitude the help and cooperation extended by the authorities of the University of the Punjab, the Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan, Rawalpindi and Information Department of the Government of the Punjab in supplying me with the photographs printed in this book.

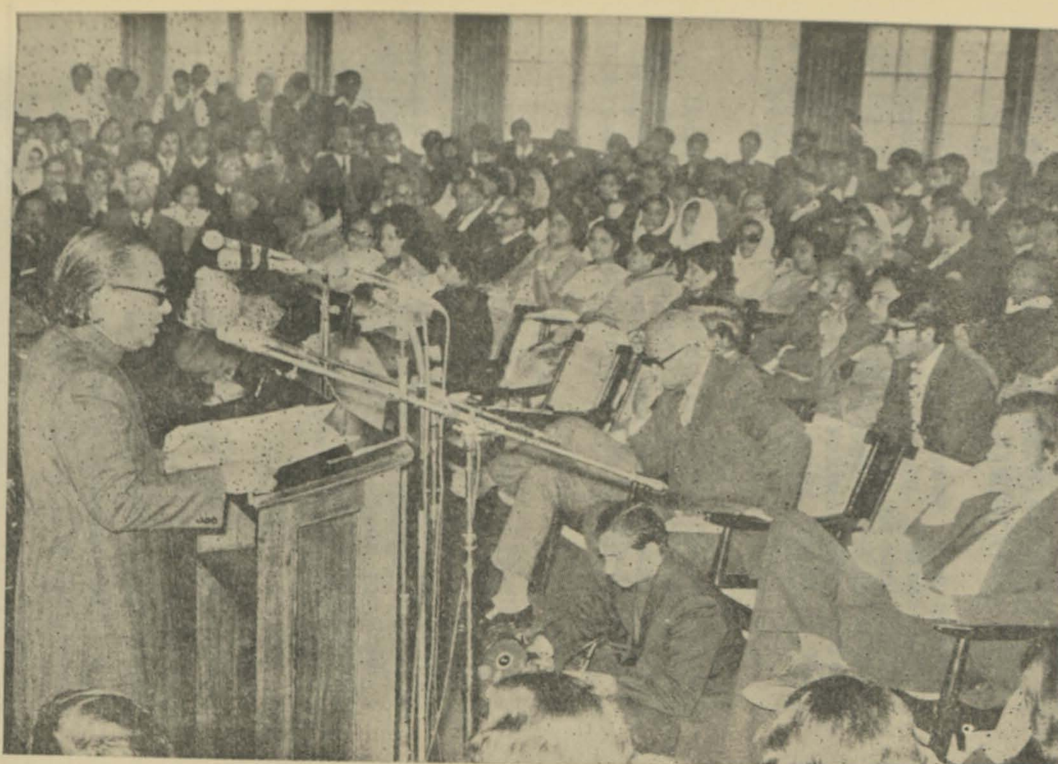
I also acknowledge the kindness of Mr. M. A. K. Maswani, formerly Editor of the Eastern Express, Chittagong, who has taken the trouble of preparing the maps that have found place in this book.

ISLAMABAD
19th, January, 1975

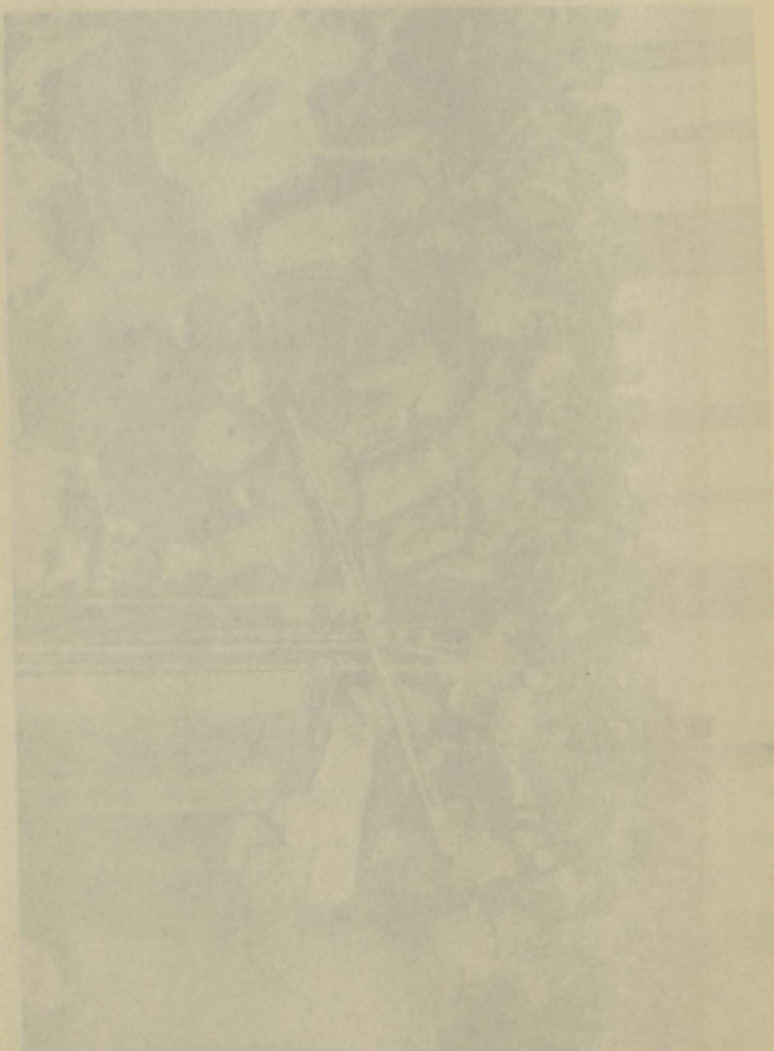
Mahmud Ali



The author speaking on the occasion of Quaid-e-Azam's 98th Birth Anniversary held at Lahore on 3.1.1975



The author speaking on the occasion of Quaid-e-Azam's 98th Birth Anniversary held at Lahore on 3.1.1975



ROLE OF MUSLIM BENGAL IN THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN[1]

......................no genuine movement is a sudden happening or an isolated phenomenon. Pakistan, too did not erupt all of a sudden; it was the sum total of all that the Muslims did over a long period and it can safely be said that the seeds of Pakistan were sown in Bengal soon after its occupation by the British in the second half of the 18th century.

★ ★ ★ ★

Defeats, retreats, frustrations, all accompanied the march of events, but the focal point was never lost sight of ; this point was that the Muslims constituted a single and separate nation in the sub-continent, ...

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What happened in 1971 was a sort of repetition of what took place in 1757. At that time Mir Jafar made himself available to the British, and caused the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula. In 1971, somebody else played the role. Just as history rectified what was caused by Mir Jafar, it will also repair the injury which the 1971 tragedy has done to the concept of single Muslim Nation and a single United Pakistan.

I

Three years have passed since the tragedy of East Pakistan's separation overtook us. This separation, initiated at the instance of India and some other foreign interests, was an attempt to distort the entire history of the Muslims of the sub-continent. In fact, it was aimed at

1. Based on the speech delivered by the author at the Quaid-e-Azam Seminar held at the Tea Room of the Punjab Assembly House on 3.1.1975.

the total elimination of the thousand-year-old base of our existence. The Muslims held sway over the whole or part of the sub-continent for, at least, 1145 years—from 712 A.D. when Mohammad Bin Qasim entered Sind to 1857 when the last attempt to dispel the British onslaught failed. During this long period, unlike their successors, the Muslims gave sweat and blood to enrich the sub-continent in various fields, and lifted the down-trodden, caste-ridden Indian Society to a new level of human consciousness and relationship. All these contributions and, in fact, the very existence of the Muslims was what the foreign-aided separatist elements wanted to efface.

The tragedy of 1971, and the uproar that preceded and followed it, had clouded many an intelligent mind ; it was so manipulated that a new meaning was sought to be given to Pakistan Movement. The distressing situation in post-separation Bangladash is now too manifest to be ignored, and the fit to justify the separation, in one form or the other, is now over. The true contours of the Pakistan Movement are now reappearing, the clouds have almost disappeared, and thinking people in both parts are reassessing the cause, form and consequences of the tragedy. The befogged mind is becoming gradually clear, and is insisting on knowing the actual process or processes which resulted in the establishment of Pakistan, with special emphasis on the role which Muslim Bengal played in it.

Before analysing the role of Muslim Bengal in the Pakistan Movement, an elaboration is needed what a movement really is. A glance over the happenings in various parts of the world reveals that no genuine movement is a sheer accident. No concept, even the individual who projects and struggles to fructify it, is an isolated phenomenon.

They do not suddenly erupt or sprout forth ; they are the sum total of a long drawn struggle which has passed through various stages, and even at times put on different garbs. Therefore, a study of a movement must start with a glance across the visible framework; it must begin with a probe into the distant happenings which to an ordinary mind appear to be isolated, but actually form part of each other. The Pakistan Movement too should be examined thus, and the Quaid-e-Azam's two-nation theory or his PAKISTAN THEOREM must be analysed, evaluated and projected in the light of the entire history of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Then alone the role of south-eastern part of the sub-continent will be visible in true dimensions : then alone the historical compulsions and significance of Pakistan will be fully comprehended.

II

The first Muslim to conquer the sub-continent, Mohammad-Bin-Qasim, came in 712 A. D. and established a Muslim Kingdom in Sind. Baluchistan, Multan and other adjoining areas extending upto the outskirts of Kashmir on one side and Kapurthala on the other. By that time, the desert dewellers of Arabia had also become sea-farers and before Mohammad-Bin-Qasim's entry into the sub-continent, they had established a few settlements in Ceylon along the Malabar coast, and also in the Bay of Bengal. In fact, Mohammad-Bin-Qasim's expedition was, indirectly though, caused by the existence of these settlements. It were the Arab families from these coastal settlements returning to Arabia who became the target of Hindu pirates in 704 A.D., and it was to avenge these Arabs Hajjaj-Bin-Yousouf despatched his son-in-law to

Sind. The regular conquest of Bengal was effected by Ikhtiar-ud-Din Khilji in 1201 A.D. But the coastal areas of Chittagong and Noakhali had been Arabanised long before that. Thus Islam entered West Pakistan and East Pakistan almost simultaneously. It, however, took the two parts five centuries to become part of a single, united Muslim empire. I am mentioning these historical facts merely to illustrate that the two wings of Pakistan were linked from the very beginning of Islam, and could not but have moved together in any situation or struggle that affected the destiny of the entire Muslim population of the sub-continent.

III

Aurangzeb died in 1707, and with his death the powerful Mughal Empire began to disintegrate. Fifty years later was faught the Battle of Plassey between the invading British and the last ruler of Muslim Bengal, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula, in which Mir Jafar's betrayal sealed the fate of the Muslims for about two centuries. With the elimination of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula, the English pirates became master of Bengal and took hurried steps to strangulate completely its former masters. To effect this they enlisted the support of the Hindus. Two measures, one taken in 1973 known as Permanent Settlement and the other in 1819 commonly called Resumption Regulation served as effective levers to turn every thing upside down. As stated by a famous British author, W. W. Hunter, in his book. "The Indian Muslims", "long term effect of the Permanent Settlement was that.........it elevated the Hindu Collectors, who upto the time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landlords, gave them proprietory rights in the soil and allowed them to accumulate wealth



Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula

which would have gone to the Muslims." The Resumption Regulation went further; it literally dispossessed the Muslim owner of their landed property. The British had launched a two-pronged attack on the Muslims ; they subjugated them politically and crushed them economically. An estimate of what the Resumption Regulation did to the Muslims was given by late Maulvi Fazlul Haq when he addressed a special session of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta in 1939, a year before he moved his historic Pakistan Resolution at Lahore. Sher-e-Bangla said, "At the time when Resumption Regulation was enforced in 1819, 95 percent of the Zamindars of Bengal were Muslims, but within two years after the completion of the proceedings under the Regulation, the position was completely reversed and the number of Muslim Zamindars fell from 95 percent to a mere five percent." Thus the Muslims of Bengal were the foremost victims of a combined onslaught by the British and the Hindus ; the British-Hindu strategem was evolved right from the beginning as far as the Muslims of Bengal were concerned. And significantly enough, they were also the first to revolt against it.

IV

The century and a half long Muslim struggle in the sub-continent after its occupation by the British has two distinct forms; one is armed struggle and the other is constitutional. In both forms, the first birth pangs were felt in Muslim Bengal ; in both shapes they were heralded by the Muslims of Bengal. Haji Shariatullah started his Faraizi Movement in 1818 in the eastern part of Bengal. It was an attempt to revive the true Islamic spirit by reforming the religious practices, but instantly it assumed

the form of a mass movement. Haji Shariatullah's son, Mohsenuddin Ahmed, popularly known as Dudu Mia, expanded the movement, organised the Muslims throughout East Bengal, and spearheaded the Muslim peasantry against the newly installed Hindu landlords and European indigo planters. In the central and western part of Bengal emerged another leader, Titu Mir, who had similar socio-economic ideas, and inspired the Muslims to wage a relentless struggle against the tyranny of the Hindu and European landlords. Both the Faraizis and the followers of Titu Mir were ruthlessly suppressed and tortured. A beard tax of Rs. 2.50 per head was imposed on each Muslim. The beard of the tenants who failed to pay the tax were tied together and red chilli powder snuff was administered on them. Severe flogging breaking red ant's nest on their bare bodies, throwing them chest-deep into wells of rubbish specially devised for the purpose and forcing the peasant to lie on his back and covering his navel with a bowl-full of grass-hoppers and white ants were some of the physical tortures inflicted on the supporters of the Faraizi Movement.

Syed Nisar Ali alias Titu Mir was a close associate of Syed Ahmed Shaheed and after his meeting with him when the latter visited Calcutta in 1820 decided to extend Syed Ahmed Shaheed's Tariqa-i-Mohammadiya to rural Bengal for spiritual re-armament of the peasantry. His movement too, was confronted with the same oppressive measures as Dudu Mia's Faraizi *Tehrik*. The British sent two expeditions against Titu Mir on November 14, 1831, and both times the Mir's peasant army repulsed the invaders. Five days later, a bigger expedition marched on Titu Mir from Calcutta. Titu Mir and many of his gallant followers were

killed in a battle that took place in Narkelbaria. Muslim Bengal thus offered first martyrs who laid down their lives for the emancipation of the Muslims from the continued stranglehold of the British and the Hindus. Even Syed Ahmed Shaheed's Mujahedeen received foremost support from Bengal, and they continued to receive substantial financial and other assistance from the Muslims of Bengal for more than half a century. The spirit of Bengal has throughout been a spirit of revolt, against the British, and in every form it was spearheaded by the Muslims. When the Hindus joined hands with the British, the Muslims of Bengal rose to face both of them.

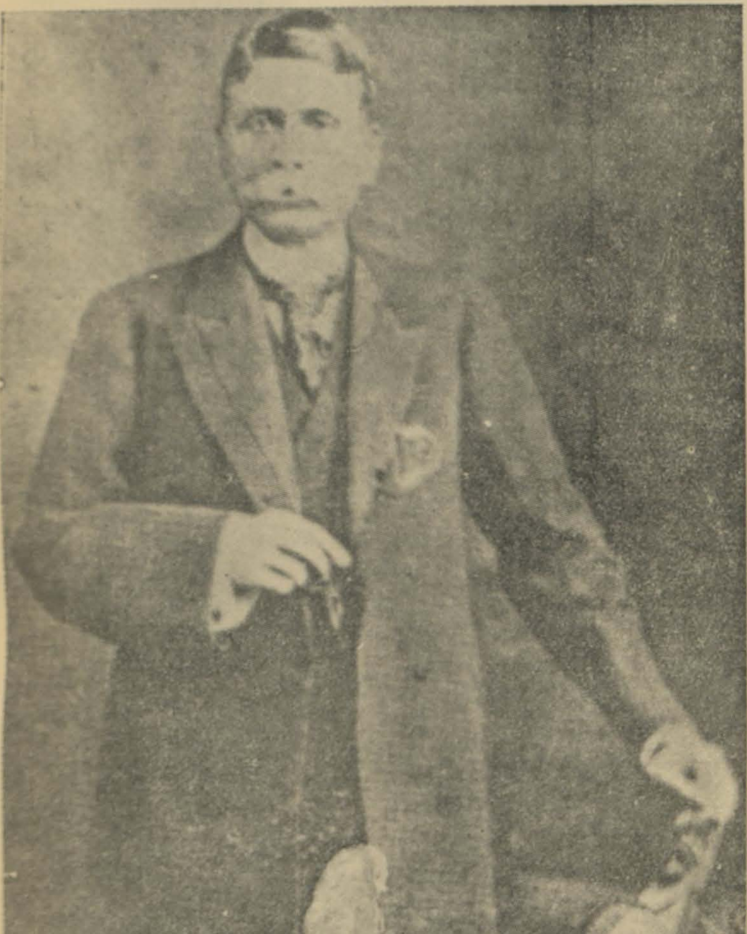
V

On the constitutional plane, too, the Muslims of Bengal took the initiative. They were, in fact, first to feel and articulate the existence of a Muslim nation distinct from other communities of the sub-continent. Their earlier struggle through Dudu Mia and Titu Mir had not materialised because of the brute British might and the continued trickery of the English and the Hindus, but the failure had not extinguished the fire in them. In less than two decades, the Muslims of Bengal opened up new channels of activity, and a Muslim organisation called the Mohammadan Association was formed in January, 1856. The second important Muslim organisation in Bengal was the Mohammadan Literary Society which was established in Calcutta in 1863 by Abdul Latif. Although the Society was essentially cultural, it played significant role in creating political consciousness amongst the Muslims. All this happened when the Hindus, patronised as they were by the British, had started a Hindu revivalist movement.

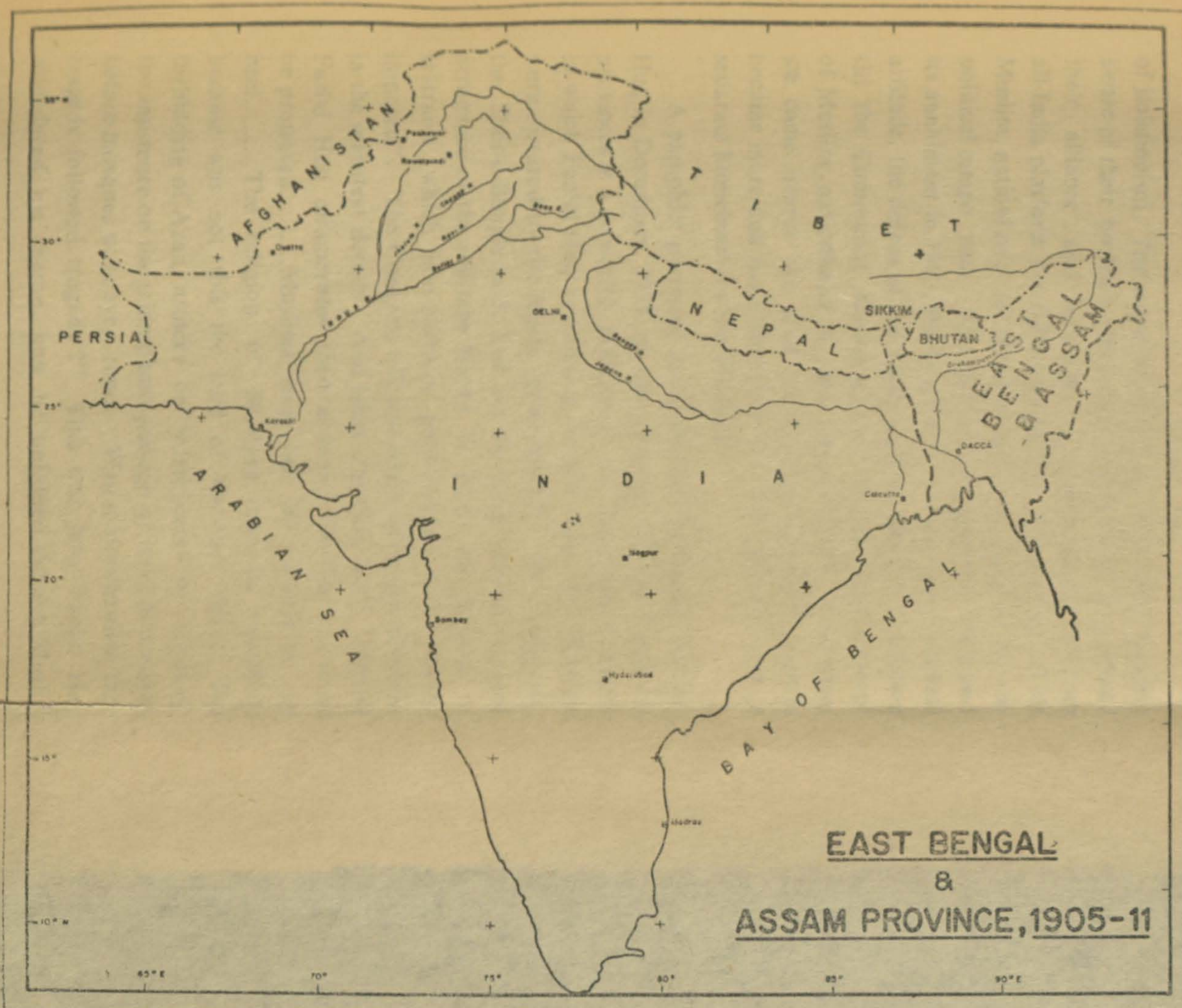
The first political organisation of the Indian Muslims also took birth in Bengal. The organisation called the National Mohammadan Association, was set up in 1878 by Syed Ameer Ali, then only 28, as a "bonafide political body among the Mohammadans to represent faithfully and honestly to Government, from a loyal but independent standpoint, the legitimate wants and requirements of the Mussalman community." The organisation could not extend beyond Bengal and Assam; due to Sir Syed's in-influence who did not favour, at that time, the participation of Muslims in politics ; and secondly, due to Ameer Ali's own elevation to a judgeship of the Calcutta High Court in 1870. But he had, two years before this appointment, convened an All-India Muslim political convention in order to make the Association an All-India political party of the Muslims. In any case, the Association continued to further the special interests of the Muslims of Bengal and Assam. The seed of an all-India political party had been sown, and 28 years after the establishment of Ameer Ali's National Mohammadan Association at Calcutta, an all-India political party of the Muslims took birth, and that too in Muslim Bengal. All-India Muslim League was the name given to this party, and it was this party, which struggled for and eventually won a separate homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent.

VI

All these happenings were not accidental ; they were inherent in the situation and reflected an uncompromising attitude of the Muslims of Bengal on the status of Muslims as a separate and a single nation. From the very beginning there has been no trace of any Bengalism or any other form



Syed Amir Ali



EAST BENGAL & ASSAM PROVINCE, 1905-11

of isolationism. The more the Muslims of the area became aware of their position, the more they tried to expand their alliance and activities eventually to procure an all-India platform for the entire Muslim population. This Muslim nationhood of Bengal further unfolded as the political tempo rose. The partition of Bengal in 1905 and its annulment in 1911, the world war I and the Congress attitude, the defeat of the Turks and the Khilafat agitation till the Communal Award, all unfolded the basic concept of Muslim nationhood in the sub-continent. And when we came nearer the goal of Pakistan, Bengali leaders became more and more emphatic in their demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims.

A pamphlet prepared and published by Maulvi Fazlul-Haq in December, 1939, on the conduct of the Congress provinces is a powerful indictment of these governments in which Fazlul Haq narrated at length how the Muslims were tortured by the Hindu governments. The Congress, the Sher-e-Bangla said, had set the stage "for the blatant arrogance of the militant Hindu to burst the bounds of restraint which non-partisan governments has hitherto imposed". The Congress *will* was imposed on the Muslims in the minutest details. And what was this *will*? Maulvi Fazlul Haq enumerates them as such, "Mother cow must be protected.........Muslims must not be allowed to eat beef.........The religion of Muslims must be humbled, because was not this the land of Hindus? Hence the forbidding of Azan, attacks on worshippers in mosques, the insistence on the triumphant passage of noisy procession before mosques at prayer times. Was it strange then that tragedy followed tragedy?" This was how Fazlul Haq introduced his theme, how he unfolded the anti-Muslim

mentality and conduct of the Congress which he always took as a bigotted Hindu revivalist body. In the same pamphlet, he gave a description of 72 incidents in Bihar, 33 in the United Provinces, and a brief account of events in the Central Province. Was he a Bengali nationalist or a Muslim nationalist who wrote all this? When you go through this pamphlet, you can feel the pangs of a soul struggling to emancipate the entire population of Muslims in the sub-continent ; you realise the strong feelings of the existence of a Muslim nation in India. Nowhere in these lines, you come across a single allusion or indication of the existence, even vaguely, of secession or isolation.

Soon after his indictment of the Congress governments, Maulvi Fuzlul Haq attended the historic session of the All India Muslim League in Lahore, and it was he who moved the Pakistan Resolution, which signified the first unequivocal declaration of the course, the Muslims of the sub-continent were to take as a separate nation. After the lucid explanation of the situation in India and the status of Muslims by the Quaid-e-Azam who unfolded the unchangeable and independent personality of the Muslim nation, Maulvi Fazlul Haq moved his resolution which demanded that "the areas in North Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign". Much speculation has been made about the use of the word "States", and while striving at any interpretation, we must feel the pulse of the time in which the resolution was adopted. The word "grouped" should dispel any misconception about the word "states" which cannot be interpretted except as "states" in the United States of America and cannot be considered to mean separate

countries In any case, Maulvi Fazlul Haq in his brief speech only talked of the 80 million Muslims ; he did not talk of any such thing as Bangladesh, and whenever he used the word Bengal, he did so in conjunction with the Punjab to emphasise that though "in the Punjab and Bengal we are an effective majority, but we are hopelessly in a minority elsewhere." This worry of being in a minority elsewhere was the determinant of the policies of the Bengali leaders, as also of the Muslim leaders all over the country, towards the future shape of India. It was precisely for this reason that Maulvi Fazlul Haq was emphatic that "the position is such that whatever may be the constitution, Muslim interests are bound to suffer just as they have suffered during the last three years of the working of provincial autonomy." Could such a man think of anything other than the total good of the Muslims, of integrating the entire scattered Muslim population into one integrated whole ?

Again, when the final decisions were being taken about the future of India, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was there to articulate the complete separateness of the Muslims from the Hindus. At the All-India Muslim League Legislators Convention held in Delhi in April, 1946, Mr. Suhrawardy said that "100 million Muslims are a nation", nobody can stem the march of 100 million Muslims"; that "the cry of 100 milion, Muslims is 'we will resist." After his long speech during which he was repeatedly cheered Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy said,"Muslims will accept nothing less than a sovereign state for the nation." All through, the ruling concept was that of *a nation* ; *the nation*; *a sovereign state*. And this is how Muslim Bengal and its stalwarts remained steadfast, vigilant and active in the creation of

Pakistan. In fact, Suhrawardy in the same speech thought of something more than the Pakistan as demanded in the Lahore Resolution. He said,"Is Pakistan our last demand? I will not attempt to give an answer. But that is our latest demand. I would like the Congress to recall that we in the past asked for much less, and were prepared to accept the superior number of Hindus in a democratic constitution but they turned down every one of our demands. Now there is nothing left for us except to *demand separation*." Matters did not stop there ; when the demand for Pakistan was accepted, and a separate Constituent Assembly was elected, a number of persons from West Pakistan were offered seats by East Pakistan and the people of East Wing ungrudgingly parted with their rights so that the machinery for legislation and administration of the new state was effectively evolved.

VII

Such has been the story of Pakistan and such has been the contribution made by Muslim Bengal. As stated at the outset, no genuine movement is a sudden happening or an isolated phenomenon. Pakistan, too, did not erupt all of a sudden ; it was the sum total of all that the Muslims did over a long period, and it can safely be said that the seed of Pakistan were sown in Bengal soon after its occupation by the British in the second half of the 18th century. Defeats, retreats, frustrations, all accompanied the march of events, but the focal point was never lost sight of ; this point was that the Muslims constituted a single and a separate nation in the sub-continent, and that they could not be relegated to the position of a minority or a subsidiary to the Hindu majority. This concept determined the shape of things in the sub-

continent; and with due deference to all it must be said that while many important leaders emerged all over the sub-continent to projet it, first steps in this behalf were taken in Muslim Bengal.

VIII

Today, the tragedy of 1971 is sought to be mis-construed and misrepresented ; as if the Bengali Muslim is alien to the concept of Muslim nationhood ; as if, it was by an accident that East Pakistan formed part of Pakistan; as if, the legal and the legitimate has been done by separating it from West Pakistan. As far back as 1940, Maulvi Fazlul Haq expressed his fear of isolation of the Bengali Muslims in the scheme of things that had been put forward by the Congress. In fact, he was worried about the scatter-ed nature of the Muslim population. In the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League, Maulvi Fazlul Haq elaborated his point of view by characterising as "un Islamic sentiments" the statement of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his presidential address to the Congress that the Muslims should not feel nervous, as 80 millions, were not a small number, and that they need not be afraid. Fazlul Haq said that even if a sufficient proportion of the 80 million had been congregated in one Province, we would have had nothing to fear. "Situated as we are", he said, "Our political enemy can take advantage of the situation ....until a satisfactory solution of this unequal distribu-tion of the Muslim population is found, it is useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards." The solution of this unequal distribution in his view, as in the view of all other Muslim leaders, was the unity of the majority of the Muslims in one independent country sufficiently

strong to resist any pressures from the Hindus. In fact, Muslims of Bengal were more aware of the scattered nature of the Muslim population than their brethren in the north-west for obvious reasons. While West Pakistan is a contiguous, rather a continuing part of the vast stretch of Muslim population in the adjoining countries, Bengali Muslim found himself surrounded by the Hindus almost on all sides. This heightened the urge for Pakistan and made them aware of the need for it earlier than people in any other part of the sub-continent.

IX

What happened in 1971 was a sort of repetition of what took place in 1757. At that time, Mir Jafar made himself available to the British, and caused the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula. In 1971, somebody else played the role. Just as history rectified what was caused by Mir Jafar it will also repair the injury which the 1971 tragedy has done to the concept of a single Muslim Nation and a single united Pakistan.



Mir Jaffar Ali Khan : 1757



Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman : 1971

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IDEALS OF QUAID-E-AZAM[1]

...........The new state was won by the Muslims as a whole, particularly, the Muslim masses about whom Allama Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-e-Azam. It was not an allottment to a group or a few individuals ; it belonged to the Nation, in the words of the Quaid-e-Azam, for the "educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift," of the Muslims ; thus alone could a complete integration of the mass of the Muslims be brought about.

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The Quaid-e-Azam had more than once articulated his views on the socio-economic pattern of Pakistan. As far as he was concerned, it could not be a land of Birlas and Tatas, of Capitalists and moneyed few, of a handful of business and industrial magnates.

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The tragedy of 1971 should be an eye-opener but it should not shake our confidence in the destiny of the nation.

I

With every reference to the Quaid-e-Azam, we cannot help recalling to mind the struggle for Pakistan. At once the entire panorama of events that resulted in the creation

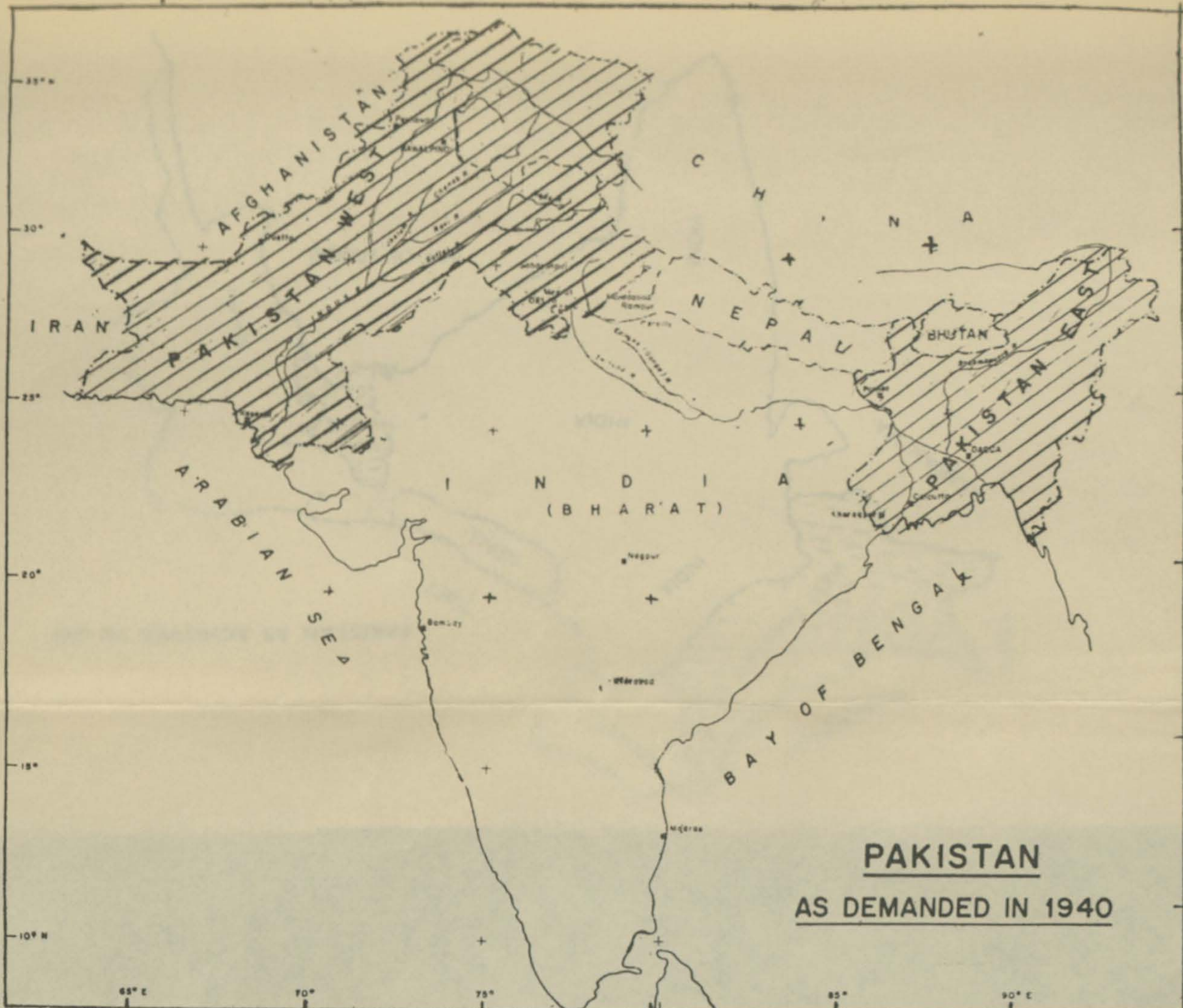
1. Based on the speech delivered by the author on the occasion of Quaid-e-Azam's 98th Birth Anniversary held at the Town Hall Lahore on 1.1.1975 under the auspices of Bazm-e-Quaid-e-Azam.

of Pakistan, the motivation behind the struggle, the vision that galvanised the entire Muslim population into a superb activity, and the purposes which the Quaid-e-Azam unfold ed before the nation, instantly become visible. Quaid-e-Azam and Pakistan are indivisible, so are Pakistan and the object of its creation. The Muslims were in double bondage when they started the struggle ; one was political imposed by the British ; the other was economic which was created by the Hindus and which was further tightened by the emergence of a few Muslim mercenaries of feudal character. Simply stated, the motivation behind the Pakistan Movement was freedom from both these forms of bondage, the creation of an independent homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent where they could pattern and lead their lives in accord with their own genius as Muslim nation unhindered by the British and the Hindus. The Quaid-e-Azam emphasised the separateness and independence of the Muslims on the basis of their religion and culture, but the Muslim nation as such was a political entity. The movement, therefore, perforce was a political one, and apart from purely cultural purposes, like all other political movements, it had also socio-economic objectives.

A letter which Allama Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-e-Azam soon after the first general elections under the 1935 Act on the basis of Communal Award, and in which the Congress won absolute majorities in five provinces, provides an insight into the socio-economic motivation of the Pakistan Movement. Iqbal bluntly stated that the Muslim League would have to "finally decide whether it would remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or the masses who have, so far, with good reason taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organi-



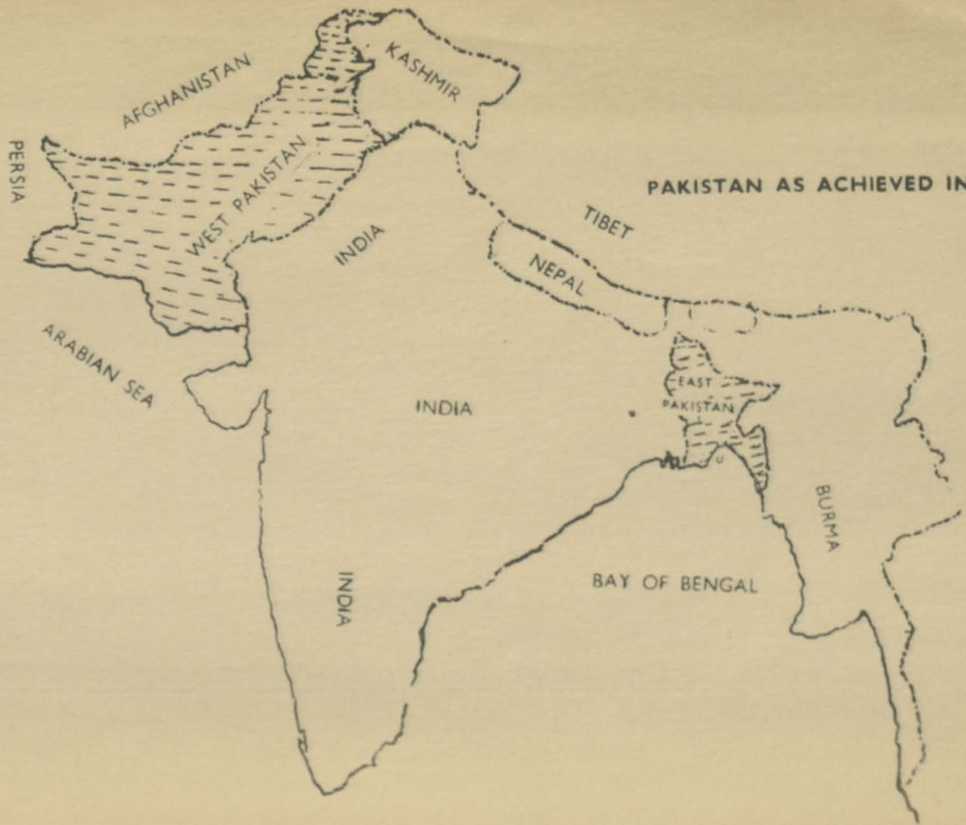
Allama Mohammad Iqbal

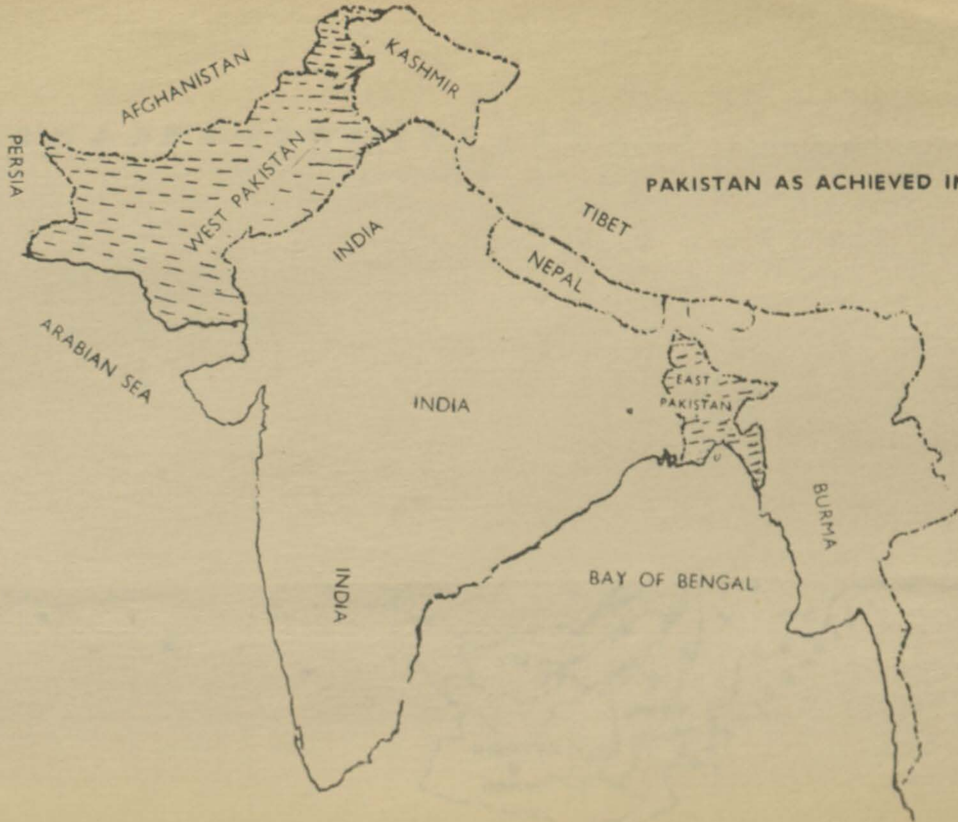


PAKISTAN

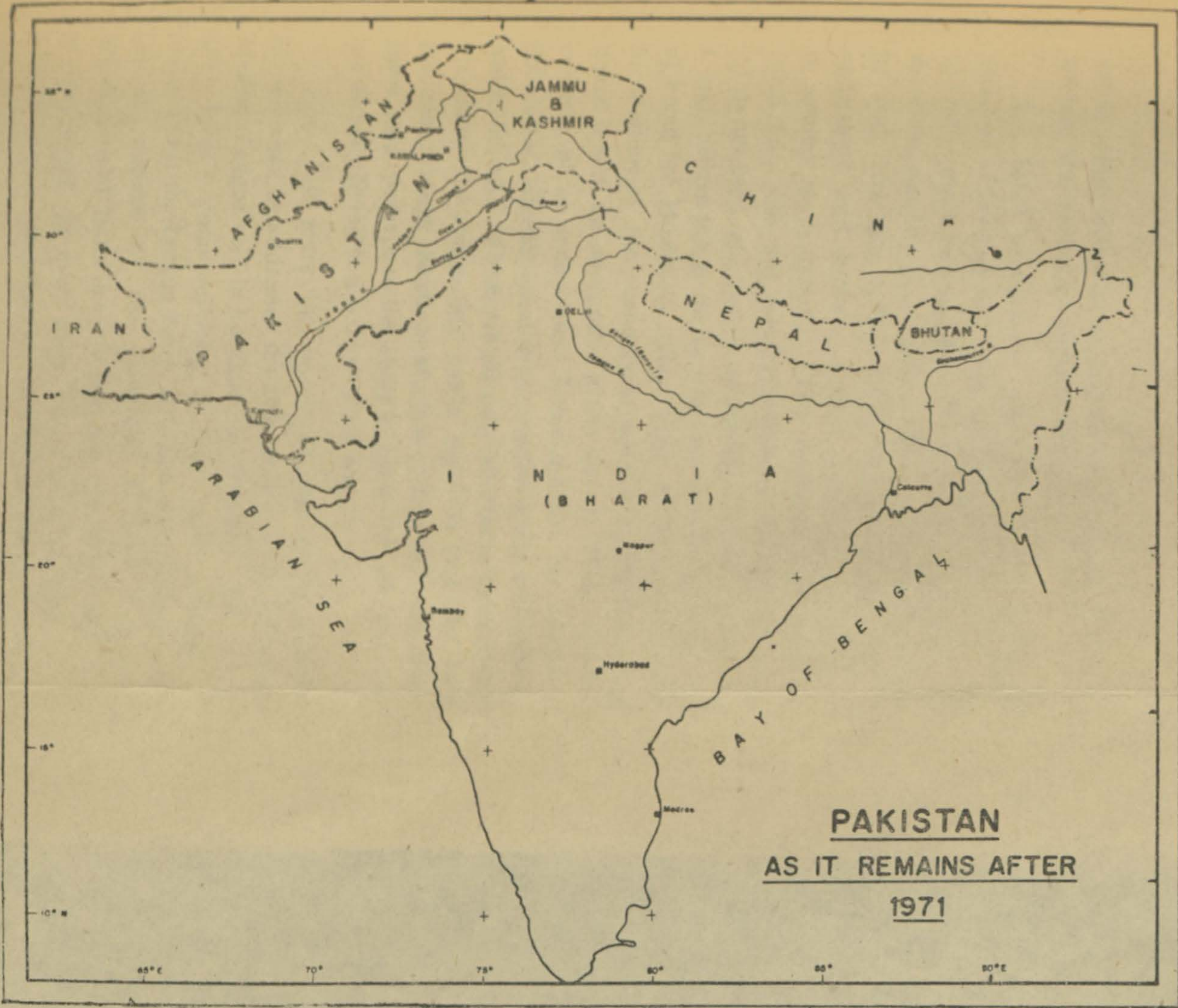
AS DEMANDED IN 1940

PAKISTAN AS ACHIEVED IN 1947





PAKISTAN AS ACHIEVED IN 1947



PAKISTAN
AS IT REMAINS AFTER
1971

sation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses."

Dr. Iqbal particularly referred to the "atheistic socialism of Jawahar Lal" and said that it was not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question, therefore, was how to solve the problem of Muslim poverty, he said, and then added, "If the law of Islam is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody." But application of the law, Iqbal felt, was not possible without a free Muslim State. "This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims". Thus Iqbal underlined the need for solution of the economic problem of the Muslims and linked it with the application of the law of Islam and the creation of an independent homeland for the Muslims. Soon after, Allama Iqbal wrote another letter to Jinnah in which he said, "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you we are actually living in a state of Civil War."

Now, just mark the words of the Quaid-e-Azam himself when he addressed the 29th session of the All-India Muslim League held in Lucknow in October, 1937 soon after Iqbal's communication to him. After talking at length about the League Party structure and unfolding the heinous designs of the Congress, he said, "To the Mussalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tehsil, in every town, I say : Your foremost duty is to formulate constructive and ameliorative programme

of work for the people's welfare, and to devise ways and means for the social, economic, and political uplift of the Mussalmans. We shall not hesitate to cooperate with any party or group in any practical or constructive progrmme for the welfare and the advance of a province or the country." Welfare of the people was what he considered of paramount importance, and often he talked of a comprehensive programme for the general uplift of the Muslims in all the spheres. He was conscious of his nation's backwardness in almost every domain; he was also aware of the grinding poverty of the Muslim masses for which both the British as well as the Hindus were responsible. But he wanted to uplift the Muslims in all spheres almost simultaneously. "Educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift" was the phrase he so often employed.

II

Quaid-e-Azam returned from England at the right moment; any delay would have deflected the ship of the nation. He was still in England when after the failure of the Round Table Conference, the British Government had given its own Award commonly known as the Communal Award. Although the multi-national character of India was accepted, the Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab had been nullified. The Quaid saw the drift in events, felt the pulse of the rulers in England, and realised the confused and frustrated state of mind of the Indian Muslims. He immediately returned to India, toured the entire sub-continent, awakened the Muslim population to the new dangers inherent in the shape of things materialising in the sub-continent. And, when he started this he was already sixty. The storm through which he passed during

the next 12 years broke his body, he left this world. Was all this struggle, all this sacrifice, the immediate return to the sub-continent and hectic tours, intended only to separate a strip of land from the sub-continent? Certainly not. To the Quaid-e-Azam, Pakistan did not mean a territory, it meant a total upsurge of the Muslim nation, the extrication of the Muslim masses from the abyss of misery, poverty and frustration, to activate the entire mass of the Muslims as a socio-economic unit, and to convert the new homeland of theirs into a state of bliss and plenty. The political part of the movement was finalised by the Quaid-e-Azam himself; the socio-economic was to be taken up by those to whom he bequeathed the new state. Unfortunately, this aspect was lost sight of and the nation failed to release new socio-economic forces.

III

On any occasion connected with the Quaid-e-Azam like the present one which has been arranged to commemorate his 98th birthday, we must try to recapitulate the entire multipurpose activity which signified the Movement of Pakistan as spearheaded by the Father of the Nation. We must try to link it with the genius of the Muslim nation which the Quaid-e-Azam tried to arouse. It was to allow full display of this genius that Pakistan was wôn; it was to re-live the past, to recapture the bygone glory, and to reassemble our forces for a leap forward in the highly competitive age of today. Thus, Pakistan was not a ritual; it was an opportunity as well as a warning to reshape ourselves, and also the sub-continent. Economic and social disparity, uneven society, any idea of sub-nations or nationalities, economic inactivity and social angularities,

were all to be eliminated, because these are all alien to Islam and hence to the Pakistan Movement. The state was won by the Muslims as a whole, particularly, the Muslim masses about whom Allama Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-e-Azam. It was not an allotment to a group of a few individuals ; it belonged to the Nation, in the words of the Quaid-e-Azam, for the "educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift," of the Muslims ; thus alone could a complete integration of the mass of the Muslims be brought about.

IV

What would have happened if the Quaid had not returned to the sub-continent in 1935, if he had cared more for his health than for the nation, and if also the partition of the sub-continent had been delayed till 1948 as originally announced by the British Government, Quaid and the time moved hand in hand. In fact, the Quaid did not allow the time to slip by. His calculations were correct, his analysis of the British mind was unmistaken, his estimates of the Congress designs against the Muslim nation were true, and his realisation about the impending changes in the sub-continent and danger to his community was immense. All these combined to cause the birth of Pakistan. Can such a rare combination and such a unique creation be misunderstood, mis-represented and miscarried? Quaid-e-Azam was feared by his opponents on account of his precision, singlemindedness, unflattering analysing and ruthless power to demolish all that was irrational and in conflict with his main theme, the theme of Muslims being *a nation*, a distinct entity, a rightful claimant to a separate homeland. He was cool-headed and determined, and

emotional ; he was straight and resolute, and never confused or dismayed ; he was imaginative, no doubt, and believed in Islam as the most powerful spiritual heritage of mankind ; but he always looked for the concrete, for projecting this spiritualism in the physical, for manifesting it in the conduct of living, visible human beings.

V

This was the Quaid who gave us Pakistan. Obviously, he did not give it to us to make it a freak of nature ; to pass it on into the hands of a few as a weapon of exploitation ; to make it a nourishing ground for rank capitalism ; to put into the backyard the problem of poverty and hunger of the Muslim masses about whom Iqbal had so earnestly written to Jinnah. The Quaid-e-Azam had more than once articulated his views on the socio-economic pattern of Pakistan. As far as he was concerned, it could not be a land of Birlas and Tatas, of capitalists and moneyed few, of a handful of business and industrial magnates.

If, on this day, we can rediscover the purpose of Pakistan's creation as envisioned by the Quaid-e-Azam, we can find a direction even at this late stage. The tragedy of 1971 should be an eye-opener but it should not shake our confidence in the destiny of the nation. Already developments in Bangladesh indicate a new realisation there to undo the wrong done to them, to retrace the steps that separated them from Pakistan. There is no greater force to effect this than the personality and the programme of Quaid-e-Azam to uplift and move forward the entire

Muslim population as a separate, single and united nation. *Above all* we should remember his motto of Unity, Faith and Discipline. At no other time we needed them more than today.



Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul-Haq

SHER-E-BANGLA FAZLUL HAQ

Just as Sir Syed stirred the urban middle class and aristocracy, Fazlul Haq shook out of slumber the rural lower class and peasantry. While one created the protestant muslim that gave the leadership, the other produced the recalcitrant muslim that provided the armies of change.

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When Rabindranath spoke they said, "How well he spoke" and went home; when Nazrul spoke they heaved and stirred and said, "Let us march"; when Fazlul Haq spoke they said, "How well he spoke" and also marched.

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At this Sher-e-Bangla opened his eyes, heaved and sadly moaned, "O Allah! please take me away from the land where I do not have a vote."

I

If the dead could feel what is happening around them, Maulvi Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq should be finding himself fully vindicated today.

After three and and a half years of bitter disillusionment, Muslim Bengal has re-discoverd the truth which Sher-e-Bangla tried so hard to drive home that notwithstanding any screaming slogans of secularism, geographical

1. Based on the speeches of the author delivered on the occasion of the Death Anniversary of Sher-e-Bangla, A.K. Fazlul Haq on 27th April, 1972, 1973 and 1974 at Rawalpindi and Lahore.

contiguity or linguistic similarity, the Bengali Muslims are a people distinct and apart from Hindu India. Muslim Bengal has learnt, to its bitter cost, that the Indian intervention in 1971 was not an altruistic move but a selfserving operation designed to put the Muslim masses back where Maulvi Fazlul Haq found them towards the close of last century. Muslims then were no more than hewers of wood and drawers of water, reduced to absolute penury by the ruthless exploitation of the Calcutta Marwaris. The Calcutta Marwaris are back to their old haunts and they have resumed their old pursuits of depriving Muslim peasants of the fruits of their labour. While Muslim Bengal starve, the rice produced by them is fattening West Bengal. While the jute industry in East Bengal is hardly able to operate at 40 percent of the pre-1971 level, its golden fibre, smuggled in massive quantities across the border, has restored production even in such West Bengal Mills as had been shuttered up since 1947 for want of raw-material. The Indo-Bangladesh trade agreements are being so worked as to ensure East Bengal's return to the old colonial pattern under which it functioned as a raw material producing hinterland to the industrial complex of Calcutta which prospered at the cost of the teaming millions of East Bengal. The returning vested interests are settling down to the old pattern of economic exploitation and cultural domination.

II

And, just as surely, Muslim Bengal, pursuing the path blazed by Maulvi Fazlul Haq, has begun to react against the inequitous situation.

In fact, Muslim history through the ages is marked by two distinctive features : internal dissention leading to the

alien overlordship followed by rising resistance to alien domination. Whether it is the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the Sub-Continent or the collapse of the Saracems in Spain or the Ottomen Turks in Europe, the cause has always been internal feuds of the Muslims. Equally noticeable is the fact of their fierce resistance to attempts to undermine their separate religious and cultural entity and sap the mainsprings of their ideological inspiration.

It is the internecine warfare in Muslim India that brought about the end of Muslim rule in the Sub-Continent. And, again, it was the Muslim reaction to the British take-over that touched off the war of independence in 1857. Though overwhelmed by British Imperialists, the Muslims remained unvanquished and their resistance continued in one form or another. They varied their strategy, changed the venue of their struggle but never gave up. At one time their struggle took the form of Faraizi Movement under Haji Shariatullah and Dudu Mian and at another of Tariqa-e-Muhammadiya founded by Syed Ahmed Shaheed and carried to Muslim Bengal by Titu Mir. It led ultimately to the carving out of a homeland for Muslims of Bengal in 1905; and, Maulvi Fazlul Haq saw for himself how greatly the Muslims benefitted from it.

That however was not the end of the struggle. The Hindus were not reconciled to the loss of East Brngal's raw-material that fed their Calcutta industries or the cheap labour drawn from the pauperized Muslim peasantry. They organised such a raging, tearing, campaign against the separate existence of Muslim Bengal that the Partition of Bengal was undone in 1911.

As always, temporary setbacks steel Muslim determination to fight back attempts to hold them down. Finding

that an armed revolt on the pattern of the one launched in 1857 was no longer possible and a struggle for economic redemption could not succeed without political power, they now changed their strategy to concentrate on the attainment of political power through constitutional means. And the result was the founding of the All India Muslim League in Dacca, in 1906 for which the basic position papers were drafted by Maulvi Fazlul Haq. Muslim Bengal had learnt their lesson. They had found that they could not win and sustain freedom by themselves. They had to pool their resources with other Muslims of the Sub-Continent and make their fight part of the over-all liberation movement of Muslim India. The undoing of the partition of Bengal at the bidding of the Hindus had shown them that they could not escape Hindu political and cultural domination without linking their fate with the Muslim Freedom Movement as a whole.

III

Realising this, Sher-e-Bangla got down to the formidable task of preparing Muslim Bengal for the struggle. As a ranking Muslim League leader, as Bengal's Education Minister and as its Premier, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the cause. He educated the people by organizing a network of Madrassas for them ; he pushed the promising students by providing them scholarships and he gave them social security by finding them jobs. He retrieved the Muslim peasantry from the crushing burden of rural indebtedness through a series of Debt Relief Acts and improved their condition by radical tenancy legislation.

When we think of Sher-e-Bangla A. K. Fazlul Haq,

we are reminded of a man from whose breath the Muslim masses of Bengal in particular and the Muslims of India in general derived strength, confidence and sustenance. To the Muslim peasant of Bengal, he was like a father in whose presence the child not only knows no fear but also indulges in the luxury of mildly provoking the mighty. To him popularity came effortlessly ; it was as effortless as the fish swimming the river, the bird soaring the sky, the lion commanding the allegiance of the jungle. He strode the landscape like a Titan, he swooped on tyranny like a hawk ; with him the despised masses ascended the heavens and with him they sang the sweet trills of the nightingale. When he spoke to the masses he thrilled and electrified them—verily to him the humblest was the strongest and the vainest was the weakest. He moved and swayed ; he wielded and flailed and with him the rural masses moved on. Sher-e-Bangla derived his strength and sustenance from the mass of rural Bengal. Just as Sir Syed stirred the urban middle class and aristocracy, Fazlul Haq shook, out of slumber, the rural lower class and peasantry. While one created the protestant muslim that gave the leadership, the other produced the racalcitrant muslim that provided the armies of change. These two forces of history were ably synchronized by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the energies thus released crystallised in the emergenee of Pakistan in 1947.

The rural Muslim masses of Bengal idolised and deified the Sher-e-Bangla because he restored to them their pride and self-respect. For them he was the St. George slaying the dragon ; for them he was David wielding his sling to humble the mighty Goliath. With one migthy

stroke he relieved the groaning peasantry of a debt of 900 crores of rupees. With this yoke shaken off, the mood of the masses varied from hysteric delight to ecstasy and they said in unison and chorus, "Let us follow him". He gave the Muslim masses education and provided them with jobs and they said, "Here is the Messiah". When his oratory rose in crescendo, the audience cheered and held its breath. When he thundered and angered, they recoiled and made amends. When he soothed and healed them, their voices went up in a spontaneous paean of thanks and joy.

IV

Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul Haq was thrown up by the masses and therefore he loved democracy and so he was returned by the masses. His life was an experiment in mass contact and how well he succeeded! When Rabindranath spoke they said, "How well he spoke" and went home ; when Nazrul spoke they heaved and stirred and said, "Let us march" ; when Fazlul Haq spoke they said, "How well he spoke" and also marched Fazlul Haq knew each nerve and fibre of the peasant of Muslim Bengal ; he knew how to rouse them and he also knew how to soothe them to placid complacency. He never stooped to build his popularity on the base instinct of the masses, for he was no rabble rouser. He earned their eternal love and gratitude not by showing them a hopeless mirage but by genuinely delivering goods to them. He emphasised the good in a man; he made the good blossom in him. He suppressed the evil in man and worked to nip the evil in the bud.

V

Let us discuss his love for democracy and the right of

every man to have a vote.

It was in 1962. He was in the Dacca Medical College Hospital—bed-ridden with his last illness, almost unconscious. Friends and relations had gone to see him. His nephew, Syed Azizul Haq said something about forthcoming elections. At the mention of the word "election", the Sher-e-Bangla opened his eyes and said, "Have I a vote in this election ?" Syed Azizul Haq said, "No, you do not have a vote because these elections are being held under Basic Democracy system." At this the Sher-e-Bangla closed his eyes, heaved and sadly moaned, "O Allah ! please take me away from the land where I do not have a vote." The touching significance of these words haunts me even today. Sher-e-Bangla, a great democrat, one of the architects of democratic Pakistan did not want to live in a land where he could not breathe freely. He was a democrat par-excellance and therefore, lack of democraey in the country made him depress ed and miserable. He was one of those who had realised that without democracy Pakistan could not survive and prosper. We have realised the breach of of this in the hard way. The hostile neighbour over-ran our territory in the eastern wing and the people there are faced with untold suffering. The whole country was brought to a very sad pause because of the lack of a sense of participation of the people of different regions in the absence of democracy. Dictatorship struck at the very root of our national life and millions of people had to pay a big price in blood and toil.

VI

Fazlul Haq was as much a symbol of hope anp

regeneration to the Muslims of the rest of India as he was to the Muslims of Bengal. He appealed as much to the urban mass of Lahore as he inspired the rural mass of CHAKHAR. When in 1940, he rose to move the Pakistan Resolution, he started speaking in English. The multitude in front raised the din of "URDU, URDU". The hero paused for a moment, surveyed the crowd and started pouring fire in Urdu. Those among the crowd who still live remember the ecstatic trance to which they were transferred by his declamation.

Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul Haq galvanized and mobilised the Muslim masses of Bengal and prepared them for Pakistan ; he moved the Lahore Resolution and gave definition to the idea of Pakistan and when Pakistan was finally emerging he rendered yet another signal service by fighting before the Radcliffe Commission for the inclusion of as much territory as possible ; in the process he prevented Pakistan from ending up as more "moth eaten" and more "truncated". It was because of his fighting spirit that Khulna was included in East Pakistan. What greater agony can we inflict on the soul of a dead man who struggled for every inch of territory to be included in Pakistan than by fighting amongst ourselves and inviting those very elements from whom he delivered us to dismember and tear apart the country he loved so very much.

Nevertheless, I am confident that the land where Sher-e-Bangla lies buried today can never be reconciled to any continuatian of Indian hegemony, in any shape or form, nor can it stay away for ever from the land

where he moved the celebrated resolution that led to the establishment of Pakistan.

Pakistan is indivisible. Its ideology is imperishable. Long live Pakistan !

HUSSAIN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY[1]

He lived in the sacred soil of Karachi and was laid to eternal rest in the serene heart of Dacca. His soul is in West and his body is in East Pakistan.

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He told him, revival of the Awami League would be tantamount to disruption of the unity of the people and as such would pave the way for disintegration of the country. He warned Mujib if he proceeded to do so, Suhrwardy would be no more in the Awami League.

I

The Muslim Legislators Convention was held at DELHI in 1946. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah presided over it. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was the main actor in the Convention. Almost all newspapers in the then India interpreted the word "States" in the Lahore Resolution of 1940 as two separate independent Muslim States. This had created grave misunderstanding amongst the Muslims of the sub-continent. The interpretation was not accepted hy the Quaid-e-Azam and other leaders of the Muslim League. Under such an atmosphere the Lagislators Convention and the All India Muslim League Council met at the Anglo-Arabic College

1. Based on speeches delivered extempore in Urdu by the author at different symposia held in observance of Death Anniversary of Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy at Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi in 1973-74.



Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy

premises at Delhi. I had the honour of attending the meeting. To remove misgivings amongst the Muslims of the sub-continent, the Lahore Resolution of 1940 was amended in 1946 at Delhi. The word "States" was replaced by the word "State". Both the resolutions were moved by the valiant sons of Bengal. Resolution of 1940 was moved by A. K. Fazlul Haque and the Delhi Resolution by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy.

II

In those days, some countries had already acquired nuclear device and had used it on Hiroshima. The British also was in possession of it. So, the people in general were apprehensive. They could not visualise freedom from the British yoke could be achieved without armed struggle. And, for this the Muslims of the sub-continent had very little strength or preparation. When Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy spoke in support of his resolution he referred to this aspect of the situation and instead of being despaired of he thundered, "Quaid-e-Azam, you are our atom bomb. We shall win our national freedom with this mighty weapon,"

III

Suhrawardy deserves to be remembered not only because he was a stalwart of Pakistan Movement. Nor for the fact that he was an ardent believer in democracy and made sacrifices for its restoration. We pay homage to his memory because during his life time he championed and struggled for the unity and integrity of Pakistan. In order to promote unity and solidarity, Suhrawardy, despite East

Wing's numerical majority, conceded to parity of representation between East and West Pakistan. However much Sheikh Mujibur Rahman may boast of having striven for long 24 years for cessation, during the life time of Suhrawardy he dared not make a move in this direction.

Suhrawardy was dedicated to the cause of unity of Pakistan. After his death he has left a legacy which will perpetuate for all times to come. He lived in the sacred soil of Karachi and was laid to enternal rest in the serene heart of Dacca. His soul is in West and his body in East Pakistan. He had such a profound love for both the wings that even nature could not assess the quantum of his love for each of the wings and was obliged not to ignore either.

The unique example of his devotion to unity left by Suhrawardy is inspiring the people in the East once again. From what trickles out from East Pakistan an atmosphere similar to pre-1947 era is prevailing there. The people have now realised the mischievous machinations of India and her stooges.

IV

Suhrawardy believed true democracy was the need of the hour. Without it Pakistan could not exist. He knew lack of unity would dismember Pakistan. This firm conviction inspired him for the fulfilment of his mission.

In 1962, Suhrawardy decided to fight dictatorship. He appealed to all political parties to disband their parties and to launch a united struggle for the common objective. All Party leaders accepted it sincerely except Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who always endeavoured to revive the

Awami League and thus break the unity of the people. Suhrawardy's clarion call for the restoration of democracy shook the citadal of arbitrary power. Consequently, Suhrawardy was imprisoned. But, the resurgent people of Pakistan did not allow his incarceration to continue for long. After about six months, Suhrawardy had to be realeased. Immediately thereafter, he called a meeting of the representatives of East and West Pakistan to formulate a common manifesto to throw off the shackles of abitrary rule. The dictator, however, fearing the inevitable impact it would create resolved to crush it down.

The modus-operandi he adopted was nothing new. It was, as usual, two fold: intimidation and allurement. The steam-roller of suppression was let loose. On the other hand, the ambitious were allured to fulfilment of their ambitions. People's unity could only be disrupted by the revival of parties. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was one of those ambitious persons who became anxious to oblige. So much so that he undertook a long trip to London to seek permission from Suhrawardy for revival of the Awami League. Suhrawardy was undergoing treatment in London at that time. When Mujib approachd him for the purpose, he found Suhrawardy was made of a different stuff. Mujib was disappointed. Suhrawardy rejected the proposal. He told him, revival of the Awami League would be tantamount to disruption of the unity of the people and as such would pave the way for disintegration of the country. He warned Mujib if he proceeded to do so, Suhrawardy would be no more in the Awami League.

VI

In 1963, a meeting of West Pakistan representatives

was called at Lakham House, Karachi to constitute the West Wing National Democratic Front. I had the privilege of participating in it as an observer. As ill-luck would have it, Suhrawardy fell ill and was admitted in the Jinnah Central Hospital, Karachi. We went to the Hospital to see him. As we were coming out of his Hospital room, he patted me on my head and said, "continue to struggle for United Pakistan. I am ill. Convey my message to Maulana Bhashani to take up the leadership".

It was the end of January, 1963. Alas! he departed from us for good on the 5th of December, 1963 in a foreign country.

Shortly thereafter, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman revived the Awami League in January, 1964 to accomplish his evil designs.

VII

Suhrawardy was a large-hearted statesman of high order. He did not believe, national interest should be subordinated to self-aggrandisement. During his detention in jail Field Marshal Ayub Khan promulgated a constitution in the country which came to be known as the 1962 constitution. Nine leaders from East Pakistan decried the constitution as unauthorised and undemocratic. They asserted that no indivdual had the right to either give a constitution or abrogate one. It was the people only who had this inalianable right. And they declared the constitution to be unacceptable to the people of Pakistan.

Amongst the nine leaders were Nurul Amin, Hamidul Huq Chaudhry, Abu Hussain Sarkar, Ataur Rahman Khan

Mahmud Ali, Yousuf Ali Chaudhury (Mohan Mian), Pir Mohsenuddin Ahmed (Dudu Mian), Syed Azizul Haq and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. It needs mention, as a statement of fact, that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman signed the document under pressure.

When Suhrawardy was set free in August, 1962 there was speculation that he might not agree with the Nine Leaders. But, a great statesman, as he was, Suhrawardy not only accepted the Nine Leaders' proposition but declared in unequivocal terms, "I am the tenth amongst them."

The consequence was as it ought to be. He was accepted as the unquestioned leader of the countrywide movement for the restoration of democracy.

Suhrawardy travelled round the clock througout the country addressing the people and the democratic workers. Amongst others I also had the honour of accompanying him. I was never in the Awami League. Politically, I had my differences with it. But differences cannot be equated with fundamental national issues. Unity of purpose dragged us to unity of action. At the critical juncture of our national life Suhrawardy provided the country with the leadership it needed. But fate had ordained otherwise. A great leader of men was snatched away from us before he could fulfil his mission.

Appendix "A"

The Lahore Resolution or the Pakistan Resolution as moved by Sher-e-Bengla, A.K. Fazlul Haq and adopted unanimously at the 27th Session of the All India Muslim League held at Lahore under the Presidentship of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on 23rd of March. 1940:

RESOLUTION

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and tne Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 17th of August, 17th and 18th of September, and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940, on the constitutioual issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of the federation embodied in the Goverment of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country, and is altogether unacceptable to Musilm India. It further records its emphatic views that while declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India. Muslim India will not be satisfisd unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo*, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to.the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in cansultation with them.

This Session further authorises the working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

THE MOVER MAKES IT CLEAR

Moving the resolution, Mr. Fazlul Haq said, "We

have stated definitely and unequivocally that what we want is not merely a tinkering with the idea of federation, but its thorough overhauling, so that the federation may ultimately go. This idea of federation must not only be postponed, but abandoned altogether. On many an occasion on the platform of the Muslim League, and the other day, on the floor of the House in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, I made an emphatic and definite assertion that the Musalmans of India will not consent to any such scheme which is framed without our approval. We will make such a Constitution absolutely unworkable. I hope that those who may have it in their power to shape the future Consitution of India will take Muslim feelings into consideration, and not take any step which may be regretted. We have made our position absolutely clear. The problem is very simple. At present the Muslims constitute 80 millions scattered all over India. It may sound a big number, but as a matter of fact, the Muslims are in a weak position numerically, in almost every province of India. In the Punjab and Bengal, we are in an effective majority, but we are hopelessly in a minority elsewhere. The position is such that whatever may be the constitution, Muslim interests are bound to suffer, just as these have suffered during the last three years of the provincial autonomy."

Mr. Fazlul Haq characterized as un-Islamic sentiments the statements of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Presidential Address to the Congress, that the Muslims should not feel nervous as 80 millions was not a small number and that they need not be afraid. Mr. Fazlul Haq said that even if a sufficient proportion of the 80 Millions had been congregated in one province, we would have had nothing

to fear. "Situated as we are, our political enemy can take advantage of the situation. Our friends will remember that even in the Punjab and Bengal our position is not very safe. In the legislatures we are not in such a large majority; we have to seek the help of other interests and minorities to form coalition governments which are the weakest form of government known to constitutionalists. As regards the other provinces, we are in a very weak position, and are at the mercy of the majority. Until a satisfactory solution of this unequal distribution of the Muslim population is found it is useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards.

"I earnestly appeal to my Muslim friends throughout India to remain united, to exercise a calm and sober judgement, and remember that we have to stand on our own feet and cannot rely on anybody. It is a case of every one for himself, and no one for the Muslims of India." Mr. Haq appealed to the audience to accept his motion. and hoped that the result would be good.

Appendix "B"

The Delhi Resolution as Moved by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and adopted unanimously at the All-India Muslim League Legislators Convention held at Delhi on April, 7-9, 1946 under the Presidentship of Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah :

RESOLUTION

Whereas, in this vast Subcontinent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political) whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies, and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma Philosophy, which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid Caste System resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, the creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and super-imposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable holts, socially and economically ;

Whereas, the Hindu Caste System is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for ;

Whereas, different historical backgrounds, traditions,

cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations ;

Whereas, soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the other nation or society in spite of their opposition, as was amply demonstrated during the two and half year's regime of Congress Governments in the Hindu majority provinces, under the Government of India Act 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppression, as a result they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safe-guards provided in the Constitution and in the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors, and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a united Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims even in majority provinces would meet with no better fate, and their interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre ;

Whereas, the Muslims are convinced that with a view to save Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent state comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East Zone and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West zone ;

This convention of the Muslim League Legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the people of India which does not conform to the following just and equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquility in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem :

1. That the zone comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely Pakistan zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay :

2. That two separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the people of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions ;

3. That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League Resolution passed on March 23, 1940, at Lahore ;

4. That the acceptance of the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the *sine-qua-non* for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

This Convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united-India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition, by all possible means, for their survival and national existence.

THE MOVER'S ARGUMENTS

Addressing the cheering multitude, Mr. Suhrawardy said that the historic Convention was holding its deliberations at a momentous period in Indian history, when British, on the one hand, and the people of India, on the other, were at the parting of ways.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that there was no room for Muslims outside the League and for that Muslim who did not believe in Pakistan, whether he was a "renegade from Sind or Punjab". Even the Congress Muslims from the N.W.F.P. were not against Pakistan, and probably they had already realized Pakistan there. He said ; "Does not Malik Khizr Hayat say that he believes in Pakistan? I will ask him to join the League as a humble servant; and if he seeks honour, then why does he not seek it from his own people?"

Referring to the future of Muslims, Mr. Suhrawardy declared that nobody could stem the march of 100 million Muslims.

He said, "Britain wants to hand over power to the Indians and the Cabinet Mission is here to find out suitable machinery for the transfer of power."

He said : Congress wanted power to suppress the aspirations of Muslims and other rising nationalities of India.

"The Congress", Mr. Suhrawardy continued,"was saying: hand over power to us. We shall sweep away all opposition. We shall suppress the Muslims. We shall bring the Scheduled Classes to heel, and we shall annihilate the Adibasis. Give up the police, your army and arms, and we shall reproduce an armageddon in the name of a united India. This I call insanity induced by the lust for power."

"It would be sheer blindness if the Cabinet Mission decided to put the destiny of India in the hands of this murderous gang," he said,

Mr. Suhrawardy said that 100 million Muslims were a nation, but it would be incorrect to think that the 300 Million people who are called Hindu were one nation. He pointed out that other supperessed communities, like the Scheduled Castes, were rising and claimed their rightful position in the Subcontinent of India.

"Is Pakistan our last demand ? "he asked, and replied ; "I will not attempt to give an answer, But that is our latest demand. I would like the Congress to recall that we in the past asked for mueh less, and we were prepared to accept the superior number of Hindus in a democratic constitution, but they turned down every one of our modest demands. Now there is nothing left for us except to demand separation. This is a fair and legitimate demand of ours."

"What next ?" asked Mr. Suhrawardy. He said the Quaid-e-Azam says we will resist the imposition of a constitution unacceptable to us. I think that the cry of 100 million Muslims is : "We will resist." He Continued : "We want to live in peace. We do not intend to start a civil war, but we want a land where we can live in 'peace'.

He said that there were many Hindus who looked to the League for emancipation. What the Muslims wanted was only two corners in India at the present moment. "If you wage war against us," he said, "I am prepared to forecast the future."

Mr. Suhrawardy asserted that the Hindu masses had not been touched by the Congress ideology. The Congress represented the Hindu intelligentsia who were vocal and voluble. On the one hand, they held out threats and, on the other, they were cooing like a dove.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that there were many Hindus who saw Pakistan as a solution of their ills, because Pakistan would be a heaven for the oppressed and the downtrodden.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that it was impossible for Muslims to rely on the goodwill of the Congress, and that that was why they demanded Pakistan.

"What is extravagent in the demand for Pakistan?" asked Mr. Suhrawardy.

He said that Muslims wanted two small corners in India where Muslims were in the majority. Mr. Suhrawardy said that Muslims would accept nothing less than a sovereign State for the nation.

Mr. Suhrawardy said, the question was whether the British or the Hindus were prepared to give Pakistan peacefully and with grace.

Mr. Suhrawardy said: "I have long pondered whether the Muslims are prepared to fight. Let me honestly

declare that every Muslim of Bengal is ready and prepared to lay down his life".

Mr. Suhrawardy paid a warm tribute to the Muslims of the minority provinces, from whom originated the wave of Muslim freedom. He said that it was admirable that they were prepared to make sacrifices for Pakistan. But the Muslims of the majority provinces should be able to bear the brunt of the struggle.

Addressing the Quaid-e-Azam, he said, "I call upon you to test us. Muslims of Bengal are prepared to make every sacrifice for the great glory of Pakistan".

Referring to the problem of defence, Mr, Suhrawardy asked : Defence against whom ? He asked if Britain or U.S.A. could defend themselves alone. "We do not think that as soon as we get Pakistan, we shall start a crusade of aggression and begin arming ourselves". Replying to the question of how Pakistan would defend itself against aggression from Hindustan, Mr. Suhrawardy said; "Leave us alone. We know how to defend ourselves".